

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LISBON NIACT IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T STATE 203574

EXDIS, DOD ADDRESSES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EFEE, EAID, AO, PO

SUBJECT:ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA REFUGEES GOING TO PORTUGAL

DOD ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

1. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO GET YOUR VIEWS AS TO
ALLOCATION OF FUNDS BETWEEN AIRLIFT AND RELIEF ASSISTANCE
IN PORTUGAL, DIRECT BILATERAL VS.INDIRECT U.S. AID VIA
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, USE OF CIVILIAN VS. MILITARY
AIRCRAFT .FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS OUTLINE SEVERAL RELEVANT
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CONSIDERATIONS, BUT YOUR FINAL ANSWERS SHOULD BE BASED

PRIMARILY ON YOUR JUDGMENTS AS TO THE POLITICAL IMPACT
IN PORTUGAL.

2. APPROVED GUIDELINES "IN PRINCIPLE" FOR FORMULATING
ASSISTANCE PROGRAM THUS FAR HAVE BEEN:

-- RESPONSIVENESS TO HUMANITARIAN NEED

-- AVOIDANCE OF RACIAL OVERTONES ATTRIBUTABLE TO U.S.

-- AVOIDANCE OF ANY APPEARANCE OF ULTERIOR U.S. POLITICAL
MOTIVATION OR DIRECT POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA OR
PORTUGAL.

WE NOTE THAT SOME 80 PERCENT OF POTENTIAL ANGOLA REFUGEES
ARE BELIEVED TO BE WHITE, AND THAT AFRICAN LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS OPPOSE THE LOSS OF THE REFUGEES' TECHNICAL
SKILLS. WE ALSO WANT TO AVOID APPEARANCES OF FAVORITISM
TOWARD ANY OF THE ANGOLAN FACTIONS (ESPECIALLY NONE FOR
MPLA), AND WE WANT TO PREVENT ANY BIG-POWER CONFRONTATION
IN OR OVER ANGOLA.

3. NATURE AND SCALE OF PROBLEM:

A. WE SEE THREE SEPARATE PROBLEM AREAS POSSIBLY INVOLVING
U.S. EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE: (1) EVACUATION BY AIR OF
REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA TO PORTUGAL AND REFUGEE RELIEF
SUPPORT IN PORTUGAL; (2) REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND OTHER
LONGER TERM ECONOMIC AID FOR PORTUGAL; (3) HELP IN
ANGOLA FOR VICTIMS OF PRESENT DISASTER WHO REMAIN AND
FOR FORMER REFUGEES RETURNING FROM OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA
OR ELSEWHERE. LISBON'S VIEWS ARE PARTICULARLY NEEDED ON
THE FIRST PROBLEM AT THIS TIME.

B. U.S. MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND ESTIMATES IT WOULD COST
\$42 MILLION TO AIRLIFT 140,000 REFUGEES FROM LUANDA
TO LISBON USING DIRECT ROUTES. THIS BASED ON USE OF 26
CHARTER AIRCRAFT FOR 29 DAYS. USE OF MILITARY AIRCRAFT
WOULD COST ABOUT 20 PERCENT MORE DUE TO LESS EFFICIENT
PASSENGER CONFIGURATION AND REQUIREMENT OF USAF TO BE
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REIMBURSED FOR FULL COST OF EFFORT. ANY LACK OF OVER-
FLIGHT CLEARANCES IN AFRICAN CONTINENT COULD AS MUCH
AS DOUBLE COSTS DUE TO NEED FOR EXTRA CREWS, FUEL AND
STOP-OVERS.

C. GOP'S ORIGINAL EMPHASIS ON "80,000 EMERGENCY CASES"
IN LUANDA IMPLIES THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE REMAINING
60,000 POTENTIAL EVACUEES THERE MIGHT NEED OUR HELP

ONLY BECAUSE COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS NOT AVAILABLE, AND THAT THEREFORE SOME OF THEM MIGHT PAY. CAN WE OR SHOULD WE EXPECT SOME REFUGEES (HOW MANY?) TO PAY FOR THEIR TRANSPORTATION?

D. COSTS OF RELIEF IN PORTUGAL: REGARDING REQUEST FOR COMMODITIES, I.E., TENTS, BLANKETS, MEDICINES AND HOSPITAL FOR 40,000 REFUGEES, OUR PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE THESE COSTS IS MINIMUM 3.5 MILLION DOLLARS, ALTHOUGH IT COULD GO HIGHER. A FOOD INVOLVEMENT WOULD MULTIPLY THIS FIGURE. FEEDING COSTS FOR 140,000 DISPLACED PERSONS IN CYPRUS HAS COST UNHCR 2 MILLION DOLLARS PER MONTH. THESE ITEMS WOULD HAVE TO COME OUT OF BELOW MENTIONED FUNDS.

4. USG FUNDING POSSIBILITIES: AID FUNDS IMMEDIATELY

AVAILABLE TOTAL \$12.5 MILLION. OF THIS, \$7.5 MILLION WOULD COME FROM YOUR REGULAR FY 1976 PROGRAM FOR PORTUGAL AND REQUIRE 15 DAYS' PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS BEFORE IT CAN BE COMMITTED. THERE ALSO IS AN UNCERTAIN POSSIBILITY OF SOME ADDITIONAL IMMEDIATE MONEY. IN ANSWERING PARA 7, ESPECIALLY FIRST THREE QUESTIONS, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU WOULD SHOW YOUR PREFERENCES UNDER THREE ALTERNATIVE FUNDING LEVELS: \$12.5, \$17.5 AND \$22.5 MILLION.

5. ON DIVIDING ASSETS BETWEEN AIRLIFT AND IMMEDIATE RELIEF OF REFUGEES, WE NOTE THAT RELIEF SUGGESTS CONTINUING ACTIVITY IN PORTUGAL WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES FOR SUSTAINED U.S. VISIBILITY AND PORTUGUESE PERCEPTIONS OF OUR ROLE. AIRLIFT IS A ONE-SHOT, HIGH COST OPERATION THAT GENERATES IMMEDIATE APPRECIATION OF THE U.S. EFFORT BUT, GIVEN THE EVACUEES' HOSTILITY TOWARDS
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PRESENT PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT, ALSO HAS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IN PORTUGAL.

6. USE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE U.S. CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO FUND EITHER THE WHOLE EVACUATION OR THE LION'S SHARE OF FOLLOW-ON RELIEF. CONTRIBUTIONS MADE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT STIMULATE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER NATIONS AND MIGHT INDUCE ORGANIZATIONS TO USE ANY RESERVES THEY MAY HAVE FOR ANGOLA REFUGEES. THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE THE TECHNICAL CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH REFUGEE PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE ANGOLAN ONE QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY, AND THEY CAN APPEAL TO DONORS WORLD WIDE. USE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES ALSO WOULD DISTANCE THE U.S. FROM CHARGES OF RACISM, POLITICAL INTERFERENCE OR ECONOMIC SABOTAGE IN

ANGOLA, AND COULD DEFLECT ANY ANTI-U.S. REACTIONS TO REQUESTS TO REFUGEES TO DEFRAID SOME OF AIRLIFT COSTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TO THE EXTENT MONEY IS AVAILABLE, DIRECT U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPEAN EVACUATION MIGHT BE FASTER AND WOULD DRAMATIZE THE U.S. AND WESTERN CONTRIBUTION MORE STRONGLY.

7. QUESTIONS:

A. WHAT WOULD BE PREFERRED ALLOCATION OF FUNDS BETWEEN EVACUATION AND REFUGEE RELIEF IN PORTUGAL UNDER EACH OF THE THREE ALTERNATIVE LEVELS GIVEN IN PARA 4?

B. SHOULD U.S. EFFORT BE DIRECT WITH PORTUGAL AND ANGOLA IN COOPERATION WITH SIMILAR DIRECT NATIONAL EFFORTS BY OUR WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES; OR SHOULD IT BE INDIRECT VIA CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

SUCH AS ICRC, ICEM, UNDRO, LIRC; OR SHOULD BOTH DIRECT AND INDIRECT ASSISTANCE BE USED, AND IF SO IN WHAT PROPORTIONS?

C. SHOULD WE USE CHARTERED CIVILIAN COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT, OR USAF PLANES, OR SOME MIX OF THE TWO?

D. IN YOUR JUDGMENT, HOW MANY OF THE 200,000 POTENTIAL
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EVACUEES FOR WHOM GOP HAS ASKED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACTUALLY NEED FINANCIAL HELP FOR EVACUATION, AND WHAT SHARE OF THIS BURDEN SHOULD USG SHOULDER? WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SPECIFICS YOU CAN FURNISH ON EVACUATION ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN BY OTHER DONORS.

8. FOR LUANDA: YOUR VIEWS WELCOME ON ANY ASPECTS OF FOREGOING THAT ARE PERTINENT TO YOUR CONCERNS.

9. FOR MAXIMUM UTILITY RESPONSES TO THIS CABLE, HOWEVER PRELIMINARY, SHOULD ARRIVE IN THE DEPARTMENT BY 1500 WASHINGTON TIME ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27. A MEETING ON THE ISSUE IS SCHEDULED FOR LATER THAT AFTERNOON. INGERSOLL

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